

# **Exhibit C**

I don't see it that way. If we believe in and trust the President or if we respect him as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces we would take him at his word on his promise to withdraw our forces by July 1, 1970.

We need only one Commander in Chief, and the Constitution wisely provides for only one, and that is the President of the United States.

Our country does not need a war council of 535, composed of 100 Senators and 435 House Members to determine strategy, to plan and employ tactics, to decide where, how, and when to fight. Nothing could be more ridiculous or disastrous for our country.

Deciding such questions in the Halls of Congress in full view of the world would advertise our plans and our strategy and tactics to friend and foe alike.

A foreign power hardly needs an espionage system. Let them subscribe to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Time magazine, the Washington Post, the New York Times, and the Wall Street Journal and obtain copies of the hearings of our Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees and they could gain a pretty good idea of our military preparedness and of our overall strategy of foreign relations, as well as the divisions among the American people in these areas.

This is just one of the prices we pay for having a democracy where the people have the right to know.

Adoption of the Cooper-Church amendment can in my judgment serve no useful purpose. Adoption of the amendment, on the contrary, would be detrimental for many reasons:

First. It would raise questions and create doubt as to the credibility of the President of the United States.

Second. It would question the powers of the President of the United States as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces.

Third. Incredibly, it would cut off support from American soldiers fighting for their country, while they are on a military mission to which they were dispatched by the President of the United States.

Fourth. It abandons Cambodia and the Cambodian sanctuaries to the North Vietnamese and tells them that they can come back and take over Cambodia, thereby putting our American troops in South Vietnam in greater jeopardy.

Fifth. It seriously weakens the power of the President as spokesman for this country in the quest for peace. This repudiation of the President and his actions will be known in national capitals throughout the world within minutes of our action on this amendment.

Sixth. It emphasizes our national divisions and lack of unity in the matter of a national foreign policy.

Seventh. It could discourage firm and timely action by the President in future crises in use of Armed Forces of the Nation.

Eighth. It could encourage our real adversaries, Russia and China, in believing that we lack the national resolve and determination to see the Vietnam war to an honorable conclusion.

Ninth. It advises our enemies as to

what our plans are in Southeast Asia, telling them just what limitations our Armed Forces are under, just how far we will go and no further. It removes all flexibility from future military plans and operations.

Tenth. It prevents the President from ordering attacks in the future on Cambodian sanctuaries without approval of Congress, thus tying the President's hands.

The President of the United States, acting as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, has had and will continue to have my support in his conduct of the war in Southeast Asia.

Certainly, I oppose any moves in the Senate to tie his hands, to snipe at him, or to criticize his actions before the world.

I oppose any action that will deprive American boys in Southeast Asia of support, or that will cut the ground from under them, or will indicate in any way that they have less than my enthusiastic support.

The President has acted. This is now the official policy of our country in the conduct of the war. As a loyal, patriotic American, as well as a U.S. Senator from Alabama, I shall support it.

Therefore, Mr. President, believing as I do that the Cooper-Church amendment is unwise, unnecessary, and not in the best interest of the country, I must oppose it.

#### EDUCATION FOR HATRED—MIDDLE EAST TRAGEDY

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, one of the fundamental causes of the trouble which has kept the Middle East in turmoil for more than a generation is the teaching of hatred that has been inflicted upon young children in the schools of many Arab countries.

Unfortunately, some of this miseducation has also infected schools in UNRWA—United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East—camps, where teaching materials have tended to implant hatred of Israel into the minds of the students. The United States bears a heavy responsibility in this connection, because we supply the major part of the money which supports UNRWA.

This whole subject is discussed in detail in an article entitled "Education for Hatred—Middle East Tragedy," written by Dr. James H. Sheldon and published in the current issue of *Prevent World War III*, a magazine published by the Society for Prevention of World War III, 50 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. The article is based on a study made by Dr. Sheldon during a trip to the Middle East, completed just a few weeks ago.

I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### EDUCATION FOR HATRED—MIDDLE EAST TRAGEDY

(By James H. Sheldon)

The question of future peace or war in the Middle East is apt to be determined in the schools of the Arab states. A survey in-

dicates that unless something is done promptly, the choice is likely to be war.

For many years UNESCO (the United Nations Economic and Social Council) has been trying to persuade member nations to remove from school texts material which teaches warfare against other peoples or inculcates group tensions. The attitude of one Arab state, Syria, was summed up in a letter to the Director-General of UNESCO written by Suleyman Al-Khash, the Syrian Minister of Education. As reported in "A-Thaura, the Ba'ath party organ (Damascus), on May 3, 1968, the Minister wrote: "The hatred which we indoctrinate into the minds of our children from birth is sacred."

Here is a passage from a first-year reading primer used in Syrian elementary schools: "The Jews are the enemies of the Arabs. Soon we shall rescue Palestine from their hands."

In a secondary school in Jordan, students of the rules of Arabic grammar are asked to analyze this sentence: "It is arms that will free our stolen homeland." A more difficult exercise is based on this: "The Arab soldiers will lead our enemies to the slaughter."

#### TRAINING FOR TERRORISM

In Egypt, sixth grade reading students study the story of a young boy who was sent to the baker's shop by his mother, to buy a basket of bread. On the way, he meets some Arab soldiers. He volunteers to conceal one of their dynamite bombs under the bread, and to take it into the nearby Jewish headquarters. "Will you let me blow it up? Give me the dynamite and I promise to do whatever you tell me," the youth says. "The soldiers gave me some explosives, which I carefully hid in my basket, placed the fuse on top, and after they showed me how to explode it, I went to the bakery where I bought bread and hid the explosives under it," the story continues.

Then we read: "I went to the enemy post, looked warily around and then placed the basket in a corner after lighting the fuse with a match, then ran away to save myself, but I had run hardly a few steps when the dynamite blew up, destroying the post and killing the enemy Jews. A pillar fell on my leg and broke it. . . ."

After reading this, the class is supposed to discuss the story and answer questions such as: "Who occupies Jerusalem today? What was the device suggested by the lad? How did he blow up the enemy? What did his bravery cost him? Do you know another story about Palestine?"

Hatred is bred into the child not only in history and social science courses, but it is imbedded in ordinary arithmetic and spelling problems. On the reverse side of the standard exercise book used by teachers in Syrian elementary classes appears a map of Israel with a bomb directed toward Tel-Aviv. Around the margin are pictures of Arab soldiers directing guns toward Israel. The whole thing is captioned "We Return."

The infection becomes even more alarming when it spreads into the UNRWA refugee camps.

The use of the camps—and their schools—for such indoctrination is now not only admitted, but has become the subject of open boasts by the Arab states.

We read in *The Arab World* for May, 1969: "In the refugee camps Palestinian youth aged 8 to 14 receive military, political and athletic training after school as members of the Al Ashbal (Lion Cub), the scout movement of the Palestine Liberation Movement."

The *Arab World*, from which this is

\*U.A.R., Ministry of Culture and Education, "Reading and Entertainment," for the 6th elementary grade, by Khalid Qutrah, Abd A. Hamur and Affat W. Hamzah. (Cairo, 1960).

May 26, 1970

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

17131

quoted, is the official organ of the Arab Information Center, in New York—which is the formally designated agency of the Arab League states in the United States.

By providing facilities for "youth activities" such as these Lion Cub scout organizations, refugee camp schools thus make available a direct recruiting channel into the guerrilla groups.

## UNRWA'S RESPONSIBILITY

Education in the camps is under the general control of local or "host" governments. Although UNRWA is theoretically responsible for "technical standards," the Commissioner General's 1968 Report pointed out that "the curricula and textbooks employed in the UNRWA/UNESCO schools have in the past been those prescribed by the host governments for their own national systems of education." For example, the Egyptian text, with its story of the boy who concealed the bomb, as quoted above, was used in the UNRWA schools of the Gaza Strip, until the Israeli occupation.

In 1968 UNESCO established a group of experts to review the text of books in use in the UNRWA schools. So bad were these teaching materials that this international commission of educators recommended that 65 of the 127 books it examined be "modified" and that 14 others be completely withdrawn from use.

The Arab governments concerned have vigorously opposed the right of either UNESCO or UNRWA to control the choice of textbooks, contending that such action would "constitute an infringement of their sovereignty."<sup>1</sup>

In the Gaza Strip, the Israeli authorities became responsible for the military administration, a survey of books in use in UNRWA schools resulted in 70 out of a total of 79 being excluded because of hate-breeding subject matter.

As a result, a kind of stalemate has developed, and the 1969 Report of UNRWA's Director General remarks that, in the absence of anything else, "school texts declared to be obsolete" following examination by the committee of experts continue to be used in Syria and East Jordan, while in the Israeli administered areas of Gaza and the West Bank temporary "teaching notes" have been made the basis for most classwork pending some over-all solution.

In all the areas, teachers are local people. In the entire Middle East, as of June 30, 1969, the UNRWA payroll included only 110 persons on the international staff (direct employees of UNRWA and personnel loaned from other UN agencies), as against an enormous 12,901 employees on the "locally recruited staff," among whom were the 6000 teachers who man the classrooms.

The host governments, as a rule, have insisted that these teachers and other employees are subject to their local regulation, and the guerrilla groups have constantly exerted additional pressures, to the extent of using many camps as recruitment and training centers, and (in the recent case of Lebanon) actually usurping the policing of the camps. The resulting situation has constantly pushed educational methods into more and more bellicose formats.

The problem is particularly acute at the secondary school level, for UNRWA does not directly operate classes for these grades, but instead subsidizes the attendance of some 20,000 older refugee children at regular government schools in various Arab countries. These young people are, of course, the "opinion makers" of the new generation.

## TEACHING HATREDS

Let us consider what a first-year secondary student studies in the Egyptian schools (in-

cluding the Gaza Strip before 1967). A course in religion uses a text provided by the Egyptian Ministry of Education and Instruction, in which we learn that "the Jews, more than others, incline to rebellion and disobedience." A parallel text on Arabic Islamic history adds that: "The Jews will not live save in darkness; they contrive their evils clandestinely." And in Jordan, a 3rd year high school text printed by the Ministry of Education itself quotes at length from the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (a notorious forgery, widely used by Hitler in his anti-Jewish propaganda), describing "force and deceit" and "the spreading of corruption" as approved "Jewish" ways of gaining power. "The Jewish Elders" are supposed to have declared, according to page 41 of this preposterous text, "We must unhesitatingly carry out the theft of the property of others."

Even art classes are used for the same hate-breeding purposes. When Gaza was occupied, a girls' school was found to be decorated with colored drawings, made by the students, in which Arab women were depicted being defiled by Jewish soldiers. Art work on an adult education text in Syria ("Salem in the Army") shows Arabs pushing struggling Jews back into the sea, as they try to escape from drowning. And another drawing by a girl student in Gaza, exhibited on a classroom wall, pictured young Arabs murdering Jews in a whole series of unpleasant ways.

It is obvious that the reconstruction of the Middle East requires us to start by cleansing the educational processes.

UNESCO has been conspicuously without success in bringing about reforms in the teaching methods of the governments themselves. In the Arab states, UNRWA likewise has been unable to effect basic changes in texts, and unable to exercise real control over the attitudes of teachers. In the Israeli occupied territories, a temporary and uneasy compromise has resulted in the use of locally reproduced "teaching notes," pending a general solution of the textbook question.

The governments providing major financial support for UNRWA can, however, exert pressure upon that considerable segment of education which is supported from international budgets. The United States—and other contributing governments—should, at the very least, insist that the money they supply be not used to teach hatred, or to finance "youth activities" such as the junior guerrilla organizations. This is an obligation owed both to the taxpayers of this generation, and to the peace and security of the future.

## THE SPEAKER STEPS DOWN

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, last Wednesday Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK announced that he will not be a candidate for reelection to the House of Representatives this fall. It was my honor to be present at his news conference when he made this announcement and to express my great respect and affection for him. I will have more later to say relative to his distinguished service to his State and his country, but I now ask unanimous consent that editorials from the Boston Evening Globe and the Boston Herald Traveler, which pay tribute to the Speaker, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Boston (Mass.) Evening Globe, May 21, 1970]

## THE SPEAKER STEPS DOWN

When a man is 78, and has served the public well for more than half a century, and has been Speaker of the House of Represent-

atives longer than any man except the late Sam Rayburn, he is surely entitled to indulge himself in some sentimentality when he announces he will not run for reelection.

But there was none of that at all in what John W. McCormack of the Ninth Congressional District had to say in Washington on Wednesday. He was remarkably composed, and in great humor, and it can be said that nothing more becomes the quality of his long service to the nation than the manner in which he is leaving it.

It may not matter much, except to local pride, that John McCormack, the seventh Speaker from Massachusetts, has put the Bay State far in the lead as the mother of Speakers, much as Ohio became known as the mother of Presidents. There are other, more important things now.

Nor does the recent criticism of the Speaker matter much, either. The record of achievement will be far more enduring. It starts with service as a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1917; as a state representative in 1920-22; in the State Senate from 1923 to 1926, and as a congressman from 1928 til now.

Mr. McCormack has occupied the most powerful office in Congress, and the third highest elective office in the land, since 1962. An earlier Speaker, Thomas Brackett Reed of Maine, once cynically defined a statesman as "a dead politician," but both Speaker McCormack and his mentor-predecessor, "Mr. Sam," ably proved he was wrong.

Because it was so long ago, most people tend to forget today that there was a time when the story of Horatio Alger had some meaning. It had some for John McCormack. Left fatherless at 13, he had to go to work to support his mother and two younger brothers. He never attended high school or college.

Most people also tend to forget, because most of them weren't born yet, the atmosphere in the nation and in Congress shortly after John McCormack, much like Mr. Deeds, first went to Washington. Yet there is a comparison, for the nation was in much the same sort of crisis then as it is today, except that now it is over a foreign war, and then it was the Depression.

The situation then seemed hopeless to many. There were record millions of unemployed. People wondered not just how, but even whether, the nation could be saved.

We remember John McCormack then, leading the fight for the poor (now the word is "underprivileged," as if it made a difference!). He was an able, tough debater, and not without reason could he describe himself after becoming floor leader as "Franklin Roosevelt's good right arm."

And his sense of humor has never left him. So good a poker player is he that an oil-rich senator once told a reporter he would rather pour his money down a manhole than get into a poker game with John.

"Don't you believe a word of it," said Mr. McCormack with a perfectly straight face, "I'm just learning the game."

It is a matter of great pride to Speaker McCormack that no matter where he has traveled nor how great the pressure of official business, he has never missed having dinner with his wife since they were married in 1920. There are not many men on this earth who can say that, and it is not an unimportant matter.

Now there will be a great scramble to see who will be elected from the Ninth District to succeed him. Taking the long view, it seems doubtful whether any of the Bay State's young hopefuls can ever equal his record and then top it off by quitting when they are ahead.

There has been criticism of John McCormack because of his age. He gave one answer to that on Wednesday when he said, merely, "I know how old I am and I don't apologize for it." It was well said.

<sup>1</sup> 1968 Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of UNRWA, p. 9.